A Lexicographical Study of

Meṭṭi Bhāsā

Submitted to

Department of Linguistics
Tri Chandra Multiple Campus
Tribhuvan University
Yen (Kathmandu), Nepal.

Submitted by:

Rukshana Kapali
Level: 3 Years Bachelor of Arts, Third Year
Subject: Linguistics Lg.316A Lexicography
Exam Roll No.: 370084 (Exam Year 2079)
Campus Roll No.: 129/074 (Day)
Date: Nepala Sambata 1143 Bachhala 21

Declaration

This is to declare that I have completed the project entitled ***A Lexicographical Study of Meṭṭi Bhāsā*** under the guidance of Ast. Prof. Toya Nath Bhatta in the partial fulfillment of the degree of Bachelors in Arts (BA) in Linguistics Lg.316A Lexicography.

Date: N.S. 1143 Bachhala 21

Name: Rukshana Kapali

Signature:

Letter of Approval

The report entitled ***A Lexicographical Study of Meṭṭi Bhāsā*** prepared by Rukshana Kapali as approved for the partial fulfillment of Bachelors in Arts (BA) in Linguistics.

Evaluation Committee

Assist. Prof. Toya Nath Bhatta
Department of Linguistics

Prof. Dr. Pradip Giri
Head of the Department

Supervisor

External Supervisor

Date:

Acknowledgement

I'd like to express my gratitude towards Tribhuvan University and Tri Chandra Multiple Campus for providing me with the opportunity to prepare this report.

I'd also like to thank Assistant Professor Toya Nath Bhatta, Prof. Dr. Pradip Giri, supervisor and external supervisor of this project work. Without their support I would not have been able to conduct this study.

I'd also like to express my acknowledgement to the transgender folks that participated and contributed with their knowledge to this study. Without their participation this study would not have been possible.

Subhaay! Thank you!

Rukshana Kapali!

Abstract

A separate branch of linguistics namely ***Lavender Linguistics*** has emerged, that studies linguistics with an intersection of the PoMSOGIESC studies.

Individuals, group of people and communities often formulate a secretive form of communication when they find the need to not be understood and limit their intelligibility to specific circles. These secretive forms of communication that emerge as a sub-culture are ***cryptolects***.

The beginning of PoMSOGIESC (People of Marginalized Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Sex Characteristics) rights movement in 2001 invented a secretive way of communication based on the Eastern Khas language (Parbate Kura, Khas Kura, Nepali) is known as ***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***.

The origins of ***Meṭṭi Bhāsā*** seems ambiguous, however can be traced back to the organizing and establishment of Blue Diamond Society. The term is ***meṭṭi*** used to refer mostly transgender women, but also gender non-conforming people in the feminine spectrum. The cryptolect originally emerged among trans women, and is now known to broader PoMSOGIESC folks, but mostly limited to people who have or have had association to Blue Diamond Society.

Meṭṭi Bhāsā uses a suffix infixed in different syllables of the word. It also has a set of its own vocabulary, however is limited in nature. Similarly, it has many expressions that give different meanings from the literal ones.

Meṭṭi Bhāsā uses a lot of "feminization", often used by trans women speakers, forming a ***genderlect*** within the ***cryptolect***.

The development of cryptolect among PoMSOGIESC folks in Nepal is not a unique phenomenon and there are several examples of such ***queer languages*** that have emerged in different parts of the world.

Meṭṭi Bhāsā emerged as a tool for PoMSOGIESC folks, more than two decades ago, so that they were able to communicate without the fear of being understood by cisgender-heterosexual individuals, who would then otherwise have 'identified' them as PoMSOGIESC, leading to social ostracization.

Keywords

Linguistics, Lavender Linguistics, PoMSOGIESC, Cryptolect, Khas language, Meṭṭi, Meṭṭi Bhāsā, Genderlect, Queer, Queer Language.

Table of contents

	Declaration	a
	Letter of approval	b
	Acknowledgement	c
	Abstract	d
	Table of contents	e
1.	Introduction	1 - 2
1.1	Background	1
1.2	Objective	2
1.3	Statement of problem	2
1.4	Significance of the study	2
1.5	Limitation	2
2.	Methodology	2
3.	Literature review	2
4.	Findings and Analysis	3 - 20
4.1	Lavender Linguistics	3
4.2	*Meṭṭi*	3 - 4
4.3	Introduction to *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	4 - 5
4.4	Origin of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	5 - 6
4.5	Usage of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	6
4.6	Suffix of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	6 - 9
4.7	Vocabulary of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	9 - 12
4.8	Feminization in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	12 - 19
4.9	Expressions in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	19
4.10	*Queer Language* around the globe	20 - 22
5.	Conclusion	22
6.	Bibliography	22 - 24

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The acronym PoMSOGIESC stands for People of Marginalized Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Sex Characteristics. This is an umbrella term that includes range of sex characteristics such as intersex people, gender identities such as transgender (trans man and trans woman) and non-binary people, and sexual orientation such as homosexual (gay/lesbian), bisexual, pansexual, asexual and so on.[1] Nepali activists coined the term PoMSOGIESC because it is a broader umbrella term than LGBT, LGBTI, LGBTIQ, etc.[2] The term *queer* is also used as an umbrella term to refer PoMSOGIESC spectrum.[3]

The PoMSOGIESC movement in Nepal began with different waves. Firstly, in 2001, the establishment of Blue Diamond Society initiated LGBTI rights movement in Nepal, which primarily focused on the 'third gender'.[4] In 2016, the formation of Campaign for Change marked the commencement of intersex rights movement in Nepal.[5] Similarly, in 2018, the organization of Queer Youth Group marked beginning of the queer rights movement in Nepal, which also saw uprising of the non-binary and binary transgender (trans man and trans woman).[6] The formation of Nepali Asexuals in 2020, which became Nepali Aspecs in 2022, marked commencement of asexual and aromatic rights group in Nepal.[7] Similarly, formation of social media platforms have fostered intersectional movements within the PoMSOGIESC rights movement in Nepal, such as Queer Dalits on Twitter and Queer Disabled on Instagram.

As diverse is Nepal in PoMSOGIESC platforms and networks, Nepal is also linguistically diverse. The Census of 1132 N.S. reports more than 123 languages spoken in Nepal.[8] In the year 1141 N.S., Language Commission identified eight more languages, which has made the official numbers rise to 131.[9]

With emergence of PoMSOGIESC rights movement in 2001, a way of speech emerged within the members of the movement and those PoMSOGIESC individuals in association to the networks. This way of speech is based on Eastern Khas language (Parbate Kura, Khas Kura, Nepali) is known as ***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***.

---

[1] यौन अभिमुखिकरण, लैङ्गिक पहिचान तथा यौन विशेषता (यौभिकयौता) : आधारभूत अवधारणा, Queer Youth Group & Campaign for Change, N.S. 1141/04/17, ISBN: 978-9937-0-8469-7.

[2] The reality of transgender rights in Nepal, Queer Youth Group and Queer Rights Collective, C.E. 2020/09/25, The Record, https://www.recordnepal.com/the-reality-of-transgender-rights-in-nepal, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[3] Ibid (1).

[4] About us, Blue Diamond Society, https://bds.org.np/about-us/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[5] About us, Campaign for Change, https://intersexnepal.org/about/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[6] About us, Queer Youth Group, https://queeryouthgroup.org.np/about-en/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[7] Who Are We?, Nepali Aspecs, https://nepaliaspecs.com/about-us/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[8] National Census of Nepal 2011 C.E., Central Bureau of Statistics.

[9] Eight new languages discovered in Nepal, C.E. 2020/11/27, KhabarKhub, https://english.khabarhub.com/2020/27/144714/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

1.2 Objective

→ To analyze lexicons of the *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*.

1.3 Statement of problem

→ What is *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*? Is this a language, a dialect or something else?
→ How did *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* emerge? What are its origins?
→ What is the usage of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*? What is the demography?
→ What are the lexicons of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*?
→ How can the lexical features of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* be analyzed?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study contributes to introducing *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*. *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* has not been previously studied and written about. This is the first research about *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*.

1.5 Limitation

This study has used digital platforms and search engines to find previous literatures.

2. Methodology

This study implores both primary and secondary method of data collection.

Primary method of data collection was implored in finding facts and figures about *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*. Twenty-seven individuals who were PoMSOGIESC participated in the study. Among those twenty-seven participants, fourteen of them were trans men and thirteen of them were trans women. The participants were from Yen (Kathmandu), Yala (Lalitpur), Khwapa (Bhaktapur), Kavre, Hetauda, Pokhara and Dharan. All of them were interviewed separately through virtual medium. They were also contacted with follow-up questions through social media chats.

Secondary method of data collection was implored in finding previous literatures and studying various concepts, vocabularies and terminologies explored in this study.

3. Literature review

In the year 1139 [N.S.], I had published a book namely *A Trilingual Collection of Gender and Sexuality Terminologies*. I had listed twenty-five terminologies from *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*. Then I addressed the terminologies as *jargons*.[10] However, *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* is not just a set of jargons (vocabulary), but also other various aspects of linguistic expressions.

Besides this, there has been no other studies published about *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*.

However, the term *meṭṭi* has been previously documented and described in several literatures.

[10] A Trilingual Collection Of Gender And Sexuality Terminologies, Rukshana Kapali, N.S. 1139, ISBN 978-9937-0-6288-6.

4. Findings and Analysis

4.1 Lavender Linguistics

Lavender Linguistics is a branch of linguistics that deals with People of Marginalized Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Sex Characteristics (PoMSOGIESC). It is the study of linguistics with an intersection to PoMSOGIESC studies.

The Center on Colfax, an LGBTIQ+ space based in Colorado in United States of America has introduced Lavender Linguistics as follows: *Lavender linguistics, or the study of queer speech and language, has become a niche area within the greater science of theoretical and sociolinguistics. Academics have studied changes in speech patterns among drag queens when they are in drag as opposed to out, queer syntax, misgendering and malice, and a myriad of other fascinating topics. In a recent study conducted by The Trevor Project, non-binary identities were put under a microscope, and celebrated for their linguistic and characteristic diversity*.[11]

The *Lavender Languages and Linguistics Conference*, began from C.E. 1993, is an international conference for queer language discipline.[12]

Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome and McBrewster John describes Lavender Linguistics as follows: *Lavender linguistics is a term used by linguists, most notably William Leap, to describe the study of language used by gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer speakers. It encompass[es] a wide range of everyday language practices in LGBTQ communities. The term derives from the longterm association of the color lavender with gay and lesbian communities. The related terms lavender language and simply gay and lesbian language also refer to the language used by LGBTQ speakers. Language in this context may refer to any aspect of spoken or written linguistic practices, including speech patterns and pronunciation, use of certain vocabulary, and in a few cases an elaborate alternative lexicon such as Polari*.[13]

An event flyer by Wichita State University gives a simpler understanding of Lavender Linguistics. It states that *Lavender Linguistics is linguistics focused on LGBTQ+ experiences*.[14]

4.2 *Meṭṭi*

The term *meṭṭi* (मेट्टि), also written as *meṭī* (मेटी) refers to trans women and gender non-conforming people on the feminine spectrum.

[11] Lavender Linguistics: An Introduction, The Center on Colfax, https://lgbtqcolorado.org/lavender-linguistics-an-introduction/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.
[12] Breaking the Stereotype of LGBTQ Language, Newswise Inc, https://www.newswise.com/articles/breaking-the-stereotype-of-lgbtq-language, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.
[13] Lavender Linguistics, Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome and McBrewster John, C.E. 2010, VDM Publishing, ISBN 9786133788879.
[14] Lavender Linguistics, Wichita State University, https://www.wichita.edu/calendar/index.php?eID=14910, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

The term *meti* has been recorded in PoMSOGIESC related literature of Nepal, as a 'third gender', or in association with *male to female transvestites*.[15] However, this study found that the concept and understanding about *meti* has evolved since, and currently used predominantly to refer trans women.

4.3 Introduction to *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

Meṭṭi Bhāsā is not an independent language of its own, rather a cryptolect based on Eastern Khas language. The cryptolect had emerged as a queer sub-culture in Nepal.

The term *cryptolect* is formed with two Greek works, *crypto* and *lect*. The term *crypto* originates from the Greek work *kryptos*, which means *hidden, concealed* or *secret*.[16] The term *lect* originates from the Greek word *lektos*, which means *to speak*.[17]

According to Word Sense Dictionary, *cryptolect is a secretive language form used by a subculture*.[18]

According to Encyclopedia Dot Com, *cryptolect is a private language that is intended to be opaque to all or most outsiders*.[19]

Yohanna Joseph Waliya, a faculty member of Modern Languages and Translation at University of Calabar, in their *Musicolinguistics: Deciphering the Nigerian Hip-Hop Music: Cryptolect* defines cryptolect as *a secret language or Cant spoken/written among certain social groups in order to encipher their doings from the unfavourable environment or public attention because of the hostile cultural settings*.[20]

Giulio Bajona, a PhD student in Linguistics, in their online piece describes cryptolects in this way: *Throughout history, cryptolects (sometimes also known as 'argots' or 'cants') have developed as alternative languages for groups who are, to some extent, at odds with mainstream society and seek new forms of identity*.[21]

---

[15] Establishing a Third Gender Category in Nepal: Process and Prognosis, Michael Bochenek and Kyle Knight, Emory International Law Review, Vol. 26, Issue 1, C.E. 2012.

[16] crypto-, Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/crypto-#etymonline_v_29118, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[17] dialect, Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/dialect#etymonline_v_8514, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[18] cryptolect, Word Sense Dictionary, https://www.wordsense.eu/cryptolect/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[19] Private Language, https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/private-language, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[20] Musicolinguistics: Deciphering the Nigerian Hip-Hop Music: Cryptolect, Yohanna Joseph Waliya, C.E. 2019, Language, Discourse & Society, Vol. 7, No. 1(13), Department of Modern Languages & Translation Studies, University of Calabar, Calabar-Nigeria.

[21] We all have secrets, and languages are no exception: meet some of the world's 'cryptolects', Giulio Bajona, C.E. 2021/08/30, https://ludwig.guru/blog/we-all-have-secrets-and-languages-are-no-exception-meet-some-of-the-worlds-cryptolects/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

Meṭṭi Bhāsā is the Romanization of the terminology in its spoken form, i.e. मेट्टि भासा in Devanagari. Since Eastern Khas language uses a prescriptive grammar and orthography, it is written as मेटी भाषा, which is then Romanized as *Meṭī Bhāṣā*.

In this report, I use the term *Eastern Khas language*. The language is also known as Nepali language, *Nepālī Bhāṣā* (नेपाली भाषा) written *Nepāli Bhāsā* (नेपालि भासा) colloquial, in the mainstream literature. The name *Khasa Bhāṣā* (खस भाषा) written *Khas Bhāsā* (खस् भासा) colloquial can be traced as the original or initial name of the name. It is an endonym, but not limited to usage among the native speakers or the usage only in the respective language. The name *Gorakha Bhāṣā* (गोरखा भाषा) written *Gorkhā Bhāsā* (गोर्खा भासा) colloquial was used as the language was the official working language of the Gorkha Regime, the Shah dynasty. The official name of the language was so until around six decades ago. The name *Parbate Kurā* (पर्बते कुरा), which literally means *the talks of hills*, and is a widely used colloquial term to refer the language.[22] Here I refer to the language as *Khas language*, for two primary reasons. Firstly, I do not want to disassociate and alienate the language from its native community. Secondly, there are critiques about referring to the language as *'Nepali'*, with the adjective denoting to a country, in the context that Nepal is a multi-lingual country, it perpetuates a sense of monolingual image of the country, puts a language at superior position, and provides continuity to the supremacy of the language, that the adjective of the country should refer to all the languages of the country. Therefore, by choosing to use the name *Khas language*, I choose to acknowledge the native community of the language, as well as disengage in contributing to the continuity of the language's hegemonic positionality. I add the term *Eastern* in it because I want to be able to distinguish it with a mutually unintelligible variation of Khas language spoken in the *Khasān* region, i.e. the *Khasānī* (खसानी) Khas language.

In this report, I use International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) for Romanization of Devanagari.[23]

4.4 Origin of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

The origin of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* is unclear. The study found several narratives to origin of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*.

One of the narratives around origin of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* pre-dates establishment of Blue Diamond Society. It was spoken by trans women who gathered around Ratnapark, primarily for sex work.

Another narrative suggests that the speech origins from Darjeeling. This is also reported with the origin of the term *meṭṭi*. However, upon correspondence with the queer community in Darjeeling, they seem to be unknown about existence of the term as well as the language.

[22] नेपाली व्याकरणमा प्रस्तावना, Mahananda Saptokta, साठी वर्षका भाषिक चर्चा, B.S. 2074, Nepal Academy, Pg. 35.

[23] https://aksharamukha.appspot.com/converter

Similarly, another narrative suggests that *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* was devised within the networks of Blue Diamond Society to foster secretive communications.

While there are different narratives about origins of *meṭṭi* language, it indicates to a timeline with initiation of Blue Diamond Society as network.

4.5 Usage of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

The term *meṭṭi* itself being an indication to trans women, and gender non-conforming people in the feminine spectrum, suggests its origin and commencement among these women. Later, trans men and the broader PoMSOGIESC folks adopted to the language.

The language has its affiliation to Blue Diamond Society and its network. It is spoken and understood by people who have had an association to the network. However, it can also be seen that the language has spread beyond Blue Diamond Society's network. This is especially true for individuals who have not directly associated with Blue Diamond Society, but acquired through acquaintances who have had an association with them.

Yet, the language largely buffers around Blue Diamond Society's network, and it not known among PoMSOGIESC individuals who are unexposed to these circles.

There is also a suggestion that *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* is primarily spoken, also originated, among *carne meṭṭi* (चर्ने मेट्टि), those trans women who are engaged in sex work. Therefore, many transgender individuals who do not engage in sex work, often disassociate themselves with the language, due to the language's association with sex work. This is often to avoid the stigma associated with sex work.

Similarly, many PoMSOGIESC folks who are cisgender also disassociate with the language, due to its predominant association with transgender individuals. This is often to avoid 'being put into the same box as transgender individuals'.

4.6 Suffix of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

The use of suffix in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* resonates with the vowel sounds in Eastern Khas language.

There are thirteen vowel alphabets used in the written language. They are as follows:-[24]

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः

a ā i ī u ū ṛ e ai o au aṃ aḥ

However, there are only six vowel sounds in the spoken language. They are as follows:-[25]

अ आ इ उ ए ओ

[24] A Grammar of Contemporary Nepali, Hemang Raj Adhikari, Translated by Bala Ram Adhikari, C.E. 2016, Nepal Pragya Pratisthan, ISBN 978-9937-689-20-5.
[25] ibid.

a ā i u e o

These six vowels determine use of suffix in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*.

The *ica* (इच) suffix is the suffix of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*. Use of this suffix plays a key role in the speech of the language.

In a mono-syllabic word, the suffix *ica* (इच) is simply added.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
छ	छ	*cha*	छइच	*chaïca*
म	म	*ma*	मइच	*maïca*

The *ca* (च) in the *ica* (इच) suffix acquires the same vowel sound as the word itself.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
ऊ	उ	*u*	उइचु	*uicu*
के	के	*ke*	केइचे	*keice*
खा	खा	*khā*	खाइचा	*khāicā*
धो	धो	*dho*	धोइचो	*dhoico*
लि	लि	*li*	लिइचि	*liici*

In a bi-syllabic word, the suffix *ica* (इच) is added after the first syllable in the word. The second syllable remains as it is.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
गर	गर	*gara*	गइचर	*gaïcara*
पढ	पढ	*paḍha*	पइचढ	*païcaḍha*
भन	भन	*bhana*	भइचन	*bhaïcana*

In bi-syllabic words that have a consonant ending in the first syllable, the consonant ending is separated from the syllable and joint with the rest of the syllables.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
तल्ला	तल्ला	*tallā*	तइचल्ला	*taicallā*
अङ्ग	अङ्ग	*aṅga*	अइचङ्ग	*aicaṅga*

Here as well *ca* (च) in the *ica* (इच) suffix acquires the vowel sound of the first syllable of the word.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
काम	काम्	*kām*	काइचाम्	*kāicām*
कुरा	कुरा	*kurā*	कुइचुरा	*kuicurā*
केरा	केरा	*kerā*	केइचेरा	*keicerā*
तिमी	तिमि	*timi*	तिइचिमि	*tiicimi*
सोध	सोध	*sodha*	सोइचोध	*soicodha*

In a tri-syllabic word, the suffix *ica* (इच) is added after the first syllable in the word. The remaining syllables remains as it is. Here as well the *ca* (च) in the *ica* (इच) suffix acquires the vowel sound of the first syllable of the word.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
किताब	किताब्	*kitāb*	किइचिताब्	*kiicitāb*
कुकुर	कुकुर्	*kukur*	कुइचुकुर्	*kuicukur*
खेतालो	खेतालो	*khetālo*	खेइचेतालो	*kheicetālo*
गहना	गहना	*gahanā*	गइचहना	*gaïcahanā*
चाहना	चाहना	*cāhanā*	चाइचाहना	*cāicāhanā*

In a word that has more than three syllables, the suffix may be added to the first syllable and leave the remaining syllables as it is. Sometimes, the last syllable maybe dropped and only three syllables would be pronounced. Sometimes, first and the alternate syllables will be assigned the suffix. This case for more than three syllabled words varies on people's practices of speaking and isn't uniform.

Six vowels of Eastern Khas language has been demonstrated above. There is no phonological difference between *i* (इ) and *ī* (ई), as well as *u* (उ) and *ū* (ऊ). The alphabet *ṛ* (ऋ) is simply pronounced as *ri* (रि).[26] Therefore, a separate analysis is not required.

[26] ibid.

The alphabet *ai* (ऐ) is a diphthong of *a* (अ) and *i* (इ)[27], therefore in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* these are treated as *a* (अ), when inflicting a vowel sound to the *ca* (च) of the *ica* (इच) suffix. However, since *ai* (ऐ) already has *i* (इ) sound in it, the dual *i* (इ) is negated.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
खैरो	खैरो	*khairo*	खैचरो	*khaicaro*
मैले	मैले	*maile*	मैचले	*maicale*

The alphabet *au* (औ) is a diphthong of *a* (अ) and *u* (उ)[28]. In *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*, the initial syllable changes into *ai* (ऐ), and the suffix *cau* (चौ) is added.

Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
लौरो	लौरो	*lauro*	लैचौरो	*laicauro*

The alphabet *aṃ* (अं) represents a homorganic nasal sound. For instance, if it is followed by *ka, kha, ga, gha* (क, ख, ग, घ) consonants, that it represents the *ṅa* (ङ) sound. For instance:- *aṃka = aṅka* (अंक = अङ्क), *śaṃkha = saṅkha* (शंख = सङ्ख), *aṃga = aṅga* (अंग = अङ्ग), *saṃgha = saṅgha* (संघ = सङ्घ), etc. Another instance, if it is followed by *ta, tha, da, dha* (त, थ, द, ध) consonants, that it represents the *na* (न) sound. For instance:- *taṃtra = tantra* (तंत्र = तन्त्र), *maṃda = manda* (मंद = मन्द), *gaṃdha = gandha* (गंध = गन्ध), etc. And so on with other homorganic nasal sounds.[29] In such case, the bi-syllabic word phenomenon shall occur.

The alphabet *aḥ* (अः) represents a conjunct of *a* (अ) and *h* (ह्) sound. However, in spoken language, the *h* (ह्) sound is often not pronounced[30], therefore poses no significance to this analysis.

4.7 Vocabulary of *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

Meṭṭi Bhāsā has a limited set of vocabulary of its own. These set of vocabulary are mostly about gender and sexual orientation, including sexual activities. These specifications demonstrates its association to PoMSOGIESC community, as well as its association with trans women sex worker community.

[27] ibid.
[28] ibid.
[29] ibid.
[30] ibid.

Vocabulary related to gender

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Man	पुरुष	पुरुस्	*purus*	टा	*ṭā*
Woman	महिला	महिला	*mahilā*	टि	*ṭi*
Cis man	त्याचलैङ्गिक पुरुष	त्याचलैङ्गिक् पुरुस्	*tyācalaiṅgik purus*	टाइचा	*ṭāicā*
Cis woman	त्याचलैङ्गिक महिला	त्याचलैङ्गिक् महिला	*tyācalaiṅgik mahilā*	टेप्कि	*ṭepki*
Trans man	पारलैङ्गिक पुरुष	पारलैङ्गिक् पुरुस्	*pāralaiṅgik purus*	मेट्टा	*meṭṭā*
Trans woman	पारलैङ्गिक महिला	पारलैङ्गिक् महिला	*pāralaiṅgik mahilā*	मेट्टि	*meṭṭi*

It is noted that the term *meṭṭā* to refer trans men is a neologism in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*. There was no word to refer trans men in the cryptolect. The term emerged in recent years.

Vocabulary related to sexual orientation

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Gay	समयौनिक पुरुष	समयौनिक् पुरुस्	*samayaunik purus*	गेचे	*gece*
Lesbian	समयौनिक महिला	समयौनिक् महिला	*samayaunik mahilā*	लेस्सि	*lessi*
Bisexual	द्वियौनिक व्यक्ति	दुईयौनिक् बेक्ति	*duīyaunik bekti*	दोहोरि	*dohori*

Vocabulary related to body parts

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Penis	लिङ्ग / शिश्न formal	लिङ्ग / सिस्न	*liṅga / sisna*	डोप् / डोब्	*ḍop / ḍob*
	लाँडो informal	लाँडो	*lāṃḍo*		
Vagina	योनी formal	योनि	*yoni*	पुइचु	*puicu*
	पुती informal	पुति / पुत्ति	*puti / putti*		
Breasts	स्तन / छाती	इस्तन् / छाति	*istan / chāti*	फलानि / दुइचु / लिर्कि	*Phalāni / duicu/ lirki*
Anus	गुदद्वार formal	गुदद्वार्	*gudadvār*	बाटुलि	*bāṭuli*
	चाककॊ प्वाल informal	चाक्कॊ प्वाल्	*cākko pvāl*		

Vocabulary related to sexual activities

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Have sex	यौन सम्पर्क formal	यौन् सम्पर्क	*yaun samparka*	धुर्नु	*dhurnu*
	चिक्नु informal	चिक्नु	*ciknu*		
Sexual activity	यौन कार्य	यौन् कार्य	*yaun kārya*	धुरानि पिटानि	*dhurāni piṭāni*
Sex work	यौन पेशा	यौन् पेसा	*yaun pesā*	चर्नु	*carnu*
Intercrural sex	-	-	-	चेप्टि	*cepṭi*
To be both receiving and penetrating	-	-	-	दोहोरि खेल्नु	*dohori khelnu*
One who does both receiving and penetrating sex (Versatile)	-	-	-	झ्याम्टि	*jhyāmṭi*

The term *carnu* (चर्नु) can be used either to refer someone going out to seek clients for sex work, or simply for cruising for purpose of sex.

Vocabulary related to appearance

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Great & Nice	राम्रो	राम्रो	*rāmro*	चिस्सा	*cissā*
Big & Nice	राम्रो	राम्रो	*rāmro*	अड्डेल्	*aḍḍel*
Sexy	आकर्षक	आकर्सक्	*ākarsak*	जोबन्	*joban*
Small	सानो	सानो	*sāno*	नुनि	*nuni*

The aforementioned words are usually spoken with a stress and lengthening to the middle syllable.

Vocabulary related to money

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Money	पैसा	पैसा	*paisā*	पिङ्कि	*piṅki*

Miscellaneous

Meaning	Written language	Spoken language	IAST	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST
Smegma	-	-	-	छुर्पि	*churpi*
To steal	चोर्नु	चोर्नु	*cornu*	जोबन् हाल्नु	*joban hālnu*
Excreta	दिसा / गु	दिसा / गु	*disā / gu*	हिरादेबि	*hirādebi*

Meaning	*Meṭṭi Bhāsā*	IAST	Literal meaning
Questioning	केथालिङ्गी	*kethāliṅgī*	*what-know-gender*
Fluid	लथालिङ्गी	*lathāliṅgī*	*messed up gender*
Gender fluid	हिलिलि	*hilili*	-
Sex worker trans woman	चर्ने मेट्टि, लुइचि	*carne meṭṭi, luici*	-
To transmit sexually transmitted disease	टिका लगाइदिनु	*ṭikā lagāidinu*	*to put (someone) tika*
To get a sexually transmitted disease	टिका लायो	*ṭikā lāyo*	*to put on tika*
To transmit HIV/AIDS	पर्साद् ख्वाउनु	*parsād khvāunu*	*to feed prasdhad*
To get HIV/AIDS	पर्साद् खानु	*parsād khānu*	*To eat prashad*

It can also be noted that people may also use the suffix (described in 4.6), to these vocabulary.

For example:-

Meṭṭi Bhāsā (without suffix)		*Meṭṭi Bhāsā* (with suffix)	
पिङ्कि	*piṅki*	पिइचिङ्कि	*piiciṅki*
अड्डेल्	*aḍḍel*	अइचड्डेल्	*aïcaḍḍel*

4.8 Feminization in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

Meṭṭi Bhāsā is also characterized by its ‘overly feminine’ language. It feminizes almost everything. This could be due to its conception among trans women. However, here the speech varies among trans men and trans women. Only trans women speakers use this ‘feminizing’ characteristic of talking, which is not used by trans men. This could be termed as the *trans women genderlect of Meṭṭi Bhāsā*.

Oxford Dictionary defines *genderlect* as *a speech variety or communication style particularly associated with one sex (a kind of dialect)*.[31]

Eastern Khas language has two grammatical genders. It is understood as *puliṅgī* (पुलिङ्गी), the masculine gender and *strīliṅgī* (स्त्रीलिङ्गी), the feminine gender. However, linguistics also argue this being *śūnyaliṅgī* (शून्यलिङ्गी). This is because the supposedly *masculine gender* in the language is used to refer everyone and everything apart from human females. The *feminine gender* is only used for human females. It is not extended even to non-human females.

For example:-

रमेश लड्यो ।	Male human	*śūnyaliṅgī*
रमिता लडिन् ।	Female human	*strīliṅgī*
राँगा लड्यो ।	Male animal	*śūnyaliṅgī*
भैँसी लड्यो ।	Female animal	*śūnyaliṅgī*
भित्ता लड्यो ।	Non-living	*śūnyaliṅgī*

The *trans women genderlect of Meṭṭi Bhāsā* uses feminine gender universally.

For example:-

रमेश लडिन् ।	Male human	*strīliṅgī*
रमिता लडिन् ।	Female human	*strīliṅgī*
राँगा लडिन् ।	Male animal	*strīliṅgī*
भैँसी लडिन् ।	Female animal	*strīliṅgī*
भित्ता लडिन् ।	Non-living	*strīliṅgī*

Here, some trans women can exclude male humans from being ‘feminized’. However, it isn’t uniform practice among everyone. Some may choose to ‘feminize’ everyone and everything, while some may choose to exclude male humans from the ‘feminization’.

As to the practice of ‘feminizing’ everyone and everything, the *trans women genderlect of Meṭṭi Bhāsā* uses feminine gender marker in those situations where the Eastern Khas language does not denote a gender.

[31] genderlect,Oxford Reference, https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095846617, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

Eastern Khas language assigns gender only in the *nimna ādar* (निम्न आदर), non-honorific case and *madhyam ādar* (मध्यम आदर), middle honorific case. There is no gender distinction in *ucca ādar* (उच्च आदर), high honorific case. However, the *trans women genderlect of Meṭṭi Bhāsā* uses feminine gender marker here as well.

Eastern Khas language	***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***
उहाँले खाना खानुहुन्छ । *uhāṃle khānā khānuhuncha.*	उहाँले खाना खानुहुन्छे । *uhāṃle khānā khānuhunche.*
भाउजू घर जानुभयो । *bhāuju ghar jānubhayo.*	भाउजू घर जानुभई । *bhāuju ghar jānubhaï.*

Eastern Khas language does not assign gender in the plural form. However, the *trans women genderlect of Meṭṭi Bhāsā* uses feminine gender marker here as well.

Eastern Khas language	***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***
उनीहरू गए । *uniharu gae.*	उनीहरू गई । *uniharu gaï.*
तिनीहरू खान्छन् । *tiniharu khānchan.*	तिनीहरू खान्छे । *tiniharu khānche.*

Let’s take examples from each tense and its aspect.

Tense	**Aspect**	**Person**	**Number**	**Gender**	**Eastern Khas**	***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***
Non-Past Tense	Simple Present	First	Singular	Masculine	खान्छु *khānchu*	खान्छे *khānche*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खान्छौं *khānchauṃ*	खान्छेउँ / खान्छेम् *khāncheuṃ / khānchem*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खान्छौ *khānchau*	खान्छ्यौ *khānchyau*
				Feminine	खान्छ्यौ *khānchyau*	
			Plural	-	खान्छौ *khānchau*	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खान्छ *khāncha*	खान्छे *khānche*

				Feminine	खान्छे *khānche*	
			Plural	-	खान्छन् *khānchan*	
	Present Continuous	First	Singular	Masculine	खादैछु *khādaichu*	खादैछे *khādaiche*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खादैछौं *khādaichauṃ*	खादैछेउँ / खादैछेम् *khādaicheuṃ / khādaichem*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खादैछौ *khādaichau*	खादैछ्यौ *khādaichyau*
				Feminine	खादैछ्यौ *khādaichyau*	
			Plural	-	खादैछौ *khādaichau*	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खादैछ *khādaicha*	खादैछे *khādaiche*
				Feminine	खादैछे *khādaiche*	
			Plural	-	खादैछन् *khādaichan*	
	Present Perfect	First	Singular	Masculine	खाएको छु *khāeko chu*	खाएकी छे *khāekī che*
				Feminine	खाएकी छु *khāekī chu*	
			Plural	-	खाएका छौं *khāekā chauṃ*	खाएकी छेउँ / खाएकी छेम् *khāekī cheuṃ / khāekī chem*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खाएको छौ *khāeko chau*	खाएकी छ्यौ *khāekī chyau*
				Feminine	खाएकी छौ *khāekī chau*	
			Plural	-	खाएका छौ *khāekā chau*	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खाएको छ	खाएकी छे

					khāeko cha	*khāekī che*
				Feminine	खाएकी छे *khāekī che*	
			Plural	-	खाएका छन् *khāekā chan*	
Past tense	Simple Past	First	Singular	Masculine	खाएँ *khāeṃ*	खाइँ *khāiṃ*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खायौँ *khāyauṃ*	खाइम् *khāim*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खायौ *khāyau*	खाई *khāi*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खायौ *khāyau*	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खायो *khāyo*	खाई *khāi*
				Feminine	खाइन् *khāin*	
			Plural	-	खाए *khāe*	
	Past Continuous	First	Singular	Masculine	खादै थिएँ *khādai thieṃ*	खादै थिइँ *khādai thiiṃ*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खादै थियौँ *khādai thiyauṃ*	खादै थिइँम् *khādai thiiṃm*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खादै थियौ *khāeko thiyau*	खादै थिई *khāekī thiī*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	-	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खादै थियो *khādai thiyo*	खादै थिई *khāekī thiī*
				Feminine	खादै थिइन् *khādai thiin*	
			Plural	-	खादै थिए *khāekā thie*	
	Past Perfect	First	Singular	Masculine	खाएको थिएँ *khāeko thieṃ*	खाएकी थिइँ *khāekī thiiṃ*

				Feminine	खाएकी थिएँ *khāekī thieṃ*	
			Plural	-	खाएका थियौं *khāekā thiyauṃ*	खाएकी थियिम् *khāekī thiyim*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खाएको थियौ *khāeko thiyau*	खाएकी थिई *khāekī thiī*
				Feminine	खाएकी थियौ *khāekī thiyau*	
			Plural	-	खाएका थियौ *khāekā thiyau*	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खाएको थियो *khāeko thiyo*	खाएकी थिई *khāekī thiī*
				Feminine	खाएकी थियो *khāekī thiyo*	
			Plural	-	खाएका थियौं *khāekā thiyauṃ*	खाएकी थिइम् *khāekī thiim*
	Habitual Past	First	Singular	Masculine	खान्थैं *khāntheṃ*	खान्थीं *khānthīṃ*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खान्थ्यौं *khānthyauṃ*	खान्थिम् *khānthim*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खान्थ्यौ *khānthyau*	खान्थी *khānthī*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	-	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खान्थ्यो *khānthyo*	खान्थी *khānthī*
				Feminine	खान्थी *khānthī*	
			Plural	-	खान्थे *khānthe*	
	Unknown Past	First	Singular	Masculine	खाएछु *khāechu*	खाईछु *khāīchu*
				Feminine	-	
			Plural	-	खाएछौं *khāechauṃ*	खाइछेम् *khāichem*
		Second	Singular	Masculine	खाएछौ *khāechau*	खाइछ्यौ *khāichyau*

				Feminine	खाइछ्यौ *khāichyau*	
			Plural	-	खाएछौ *khāechau*	
		Third	Singular	Masculine	खाएछ *khāecha*	खाइछे *khāiche*
				Feminine	खाइछ *khāicha*	
			Plural	-	खाएछन् *khāechan*	

Although the formal dialect of Eastern Khas language includes a Future tense, the colloquial language does not have a future tense. The colloquial language has tense as past and non-past. Therefore, I do not find future tense significant to this analysis.

Similarly, there is a practice in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* of adding *ni* (नी) suffix to 'overtly feminize' the already feminine word.

In Eastern Khas language, the nouns and adjectives decline on basis of gender in several ways. One of the ways of feminizing the word is to add *ni* (नी) suffix.

However, this isn't the only way to feminize a word. Different lexicons can be used for masculine and feminine words. For example:- *āmā – bubā* (आमा — बुबा) which means mother and father respectively uses different lexicons for masculine and feminine. Similarly, there is use of suffixes like *ī, ikā, ā* (ई, इका, आ), etc to feminize a word. For instance:- *nartak – nartakī* (नर्तक — नर्तकी) meaning male dancer and female dancer, uses *ī* (ई) suffix for feminization. *lekhak – lekhikā* (लेखक — लेखिका) meaning male writer and female writer, uses *ikā* (इका) suffix for feminization. *chātra – chātrā* (छात्र — छात्रा) meaning male student and female student, uses *ā* (आ) suffix for feminization.

Here, *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* would add the *ni* (नी) suffix to already feminized words. For example:- *nartakīni*, *lekhikāni*, *chātrini*, *chorini*, *bhānjini* (नर्तकीनी, लेखिकानी, छात्रीनी, छोरीनी, भान्जीनी), and so on.

Similarly, the imperative mood is feminized in the following way.

Eastern Khas language	***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***
गर न । *gara na.*	गरेकी न । *garekī na.*

गर त । *gara ta.*	गरी त । *garī ta.*
उसको फोन नम्बर भन त । *usko phon nambar bhana ta.*	उसको फोन नम्बर भनेकी त । *usko phon nambar bhanekī ta.*

Some other examples of feminization are as follows.

Eastern Khas language	***Meṭṭi Bhāsā***
हुन्छ। *huncha.*	हुन्छे । *hunche.*
छैन । *chaina.*	छैने । *chaine.*

4.9 Expressions in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*

Meṭṭi Bhāsā is also characterized by some of its unique expressions.

The word *hunche* (हुन्छे) is used to say *okay*.

The words *cissā, joban, aḍḍel* (चिस्सा, जोबन्, अड्डेल्) are used to express appreciation and liking, or simply used as to say *Wow!*

The word *billā* (बिल्ला) is used to express dissatisfaction and disliking.

Someone saying *ṭepki bhanyā cha* (टेप्कि भन्या छ) is an expression that literally means *have been told a cis woman*, is used when a trans woman gets passed as a "woman".

Someone saying *billā meṭṭi* (बिल्ला मेट्टि) means they disapprove of something about a particular trans woman.

The word *ḍaralāgdī* (डरलाग्दी) can be used to express shock to hear something 'out of ordinary'.

The word *ackalṭi* (अच्कल्टि) can be used to express disapproval.

There is also an expression that goes *rāmrī che garche* (राम्री छे गर्छे). This literally means *she is beautiful, so she does*. This expression is used to refer someone's ability or capability to achieve something.

There is also an expression that goes *kastī ho ra āphū* (कस्ती हो र आफू). This literally means *what kind are you*. This expression is used to refer an exclamation of meh.

4.10 *Queer Language* around the globe

The development of a cryptolect is not a phenomenon unique to *Meṭṭi Bhāsā*. Globally queer communities have devised such cryptolects to ensure their safety through a medium of secretive communication.

Hijra Farsi, is the closet example to Nepal. The term *hijra* refers to a community of mostly third gender and trans women, but not limited to, and may also encompass trans men and intersex individuals. They live in a social community that has their own social norms, values and rituals. It is mostly spoken in North India and Pakistan. Although the language is named *farsi*, it is not based on Farsi (Persian) language, rather based on Hindi-Urdu. However, Hijra Farsi is not intelligible to Hindi speakers due to distinctive patterns of patterns and an extensive vocabulary of its own. It is also seen as a tool for community building. [32] [33] [34]

There are other such cryptolects in India namely ***Gupti*** and ***Ulti***, however there isn't ample literature around it.[35]

The ***queer talk*** in English refers to a way of speech that uses jargons and linguistic expressions specific to the queer community. Some examples of ***queer talk*** in English are as follows:-[36]

Queer Talk	Meaning
Ace	Asexual person.
Aro	Aromantic person.
Bear	A man who is hairy, often chubby.
Bottom	The one who receives penetration in an intercourse, referring to men having sex with men.
Bussy	Portmanteau of "boy pussy", referring to anus.
Butch	A lesbian woman who is 'masculine'.
Daddy	A typically older man. The one who is the 'responsible' one in a relationship, taking care of the other's needs.
Enby	A non-binary person.
Fem boy	A man who is 'feminine.
Femme	The one who is 'feminine'.
Gaydar	Portmanteau of "gay radar", the supposed ability to detect someone's sexual orientation.
Lipstick lesbian	A lesbian woman who expresses stereotypically 'feminine'.
Masc	The one who is 'masculine'.

[32] Language Choice and Sexual Identity in New Delhi, Kira Hall, C.E. 2001/02/09, Stanford University.
[33] The secret language of South Asia's transgender community, Zehra Rehman, C.E. 2016/04/15, The Quartz, https://qz.com/india/662917/the-secret-language-of-south-asias-transgender-community, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.
[34] Queer Languages (that) matter: Navigating the role of Hijra Farsi in the gender and sexual identity formation of Khwaja Sara/Hijra's in contemporary Pakistan, Nadia Urooj And Alamgir Khan, https://osf.io/.
[35] ibid n(34).
[36] *These were collected from queer folks in Nepal through an online survey.*

Miss Rona	COVID-19, corona virus.
Mommy	A typically older woman. The one who is the 'responsible' one in a relationship, taking care of the other's needs.
Power bottom	The kind of bottom who plays the receptive role dominantly, taking control of the situation.
Queen	Flamboyant.
Slay	To be fashionable and flawless.
Tea / T	Transgender person.
Top	The one who penetrates in an intercourse, referring to men having sex with men.
Twink	A man who is in his late teens to twenties whose traits include a slim physique, a youthful appearance, having no body hair, and flamboyant.
Verse	The one who does both receptive and penetrative role in an intercourse, referring to men having sex with men.
Yas!	Yes.

Bahasa Gay, is another example of a cryptolect that emerged in the gay community in Indonesia. It is said to have several regular patterns of word formation.[37]

In South Africa, two gay languages have emerged in parallel. Black gay men use a language known as ***Isigqumo***. It is based on Nguni languages.[38] Similarly, an Indo-European language namely ***Gayle*** is based on Afrikaans.[39]

Lubunca, is another cryptolect spoken in Turkey by the queer community. The language is primarily derived from Romani, but also has Greek, Kurdish and Bulgarian influence to it. It is mostly spoken in the sex worker community.[40]

Pajubá, is also a cryptolect spoken in Brazil. It is based in Portuguese, and was created from the assimilation of Yorubá, Nagô and other African Languages. It was initially used as a language of communication among African slaves who were brought into Brazil. Later the gay community adopted the language.[41]

[37] Gay Language and Indonesia: Registering Belonging, Tom Boellstorff, C.E. 2004, Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, Vol. 14, Issue 2, pg. 248–268, American Anthropological Association, ISSN 1548-1395.

[38] IsiNgqumo – Introducing a gay Black South African linguistic variety, Stephanie Rudwick and Mduduzi Ntuli, C.E. 2008, Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Vol. 26, No.4 ISSN: 1607-3614.

[39] Gay Language in Cape Town: A study of Gayle – attitudes, history and usage, Kathryn Luyt, C.E. 2014, University of Cape Town.

[40] The secret language of Turkey's LGBT community, Dalia Mortada, C.E. 2015/01/14, The World, https://theworld.org/stories/2015-01-14/world-full-secret-languages-one-used-turkeys-lgbt-community, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

[41] Pajubá, the 'secret dialect' of Brazilian trans women, C.E. 2022/07/10, Pledge Times, https://pledgetimes.com/pajuba-the-secret-dialect-of-brazilian-trans-women/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

Polari, is a cryptolect, used by gay men and lesbian women in the United Kingdom during the late twentieth century.[42]

Swardspeak, is a cryptolect spoken in the Philippines by the queer community. It is derived from the code switching between Tagalog and English, also known as Taglish.[43]

5. Conclusion

Therefore, in conclusion to this study, *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* is a cryptolect of Eastern Khas language (Parbate Kura, Khas Kura, Nepali). It is primarily spoken by, but not limited to, transgender individuals. The knowledge of the cryptolect is based on exposure and engagement to networks who have association to Blue Diamond Society, or had any association to Blue Diamond Society in past. The exact origin of the cryptolect is unknown, but the timeline can be assumed to have originated with emergence of Blue Diamond Society as an organization. The lexicons and expressions in *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* suggests its affiliation to traditional notions of femininity, and predominantly originated among trans women. It also seems to be intertwined, but not limited, to sex work.

Cryptolects form with a need of secretive communications. Nepami (Nepali) society stigmatizes and discriminated PoMSOGIESC folks. PoMSOGIESC identities are seen as a "shame" or "abnormal" in society, and met with social resistance. Therefore, *Meṭṭi Bhāsā* emerged as a tool for PoMSOGIESC folks, more than two decades ago, so that they were able to communicate without the fear of being understood by cisgender-heterosexual individuals, who would then otherwise have 'identified' them as PoMSOGIESC, leading to social ostracization.

6. Bibliography

A Grammar of Contemporary Nepali, Hemang Raj Adhikari, Translated by Bala Ram Adhikari, C.E. 2016, Nepal Pragya Pratisthan, ISBN 978-9937-689-20-5.

A Trilingual Collection Of Gender And Sexuality Terminologies, Rukshana Kapali, N.S. 1139, ISBN 978-9937-0-6288-6.

Aksharmukha Script Converter, https://aksharamukha.appspot.com/converter,

Blue Diamond Society, https://bds.org.np/.

Breaking the Stereotype of LGBTQ Language, Newswise Inc.

Campaign for Change, https://intersexnepal.org/.

Eight new languages discovered in Nepal, C.E. 2020/11/27, KhabarKhub.

Encyclopedia Dot Com, https://www.encyclopedia.com/.

[42] Polari - The Lost Language of Gay Men, Paul Baker, C.E. 2002, Routledge, ISBN 0-203-26183-6.

[43] In Focus: The Filipino Gayspeak (Filipino Gay Lingo), Reinerio A. Alba, C.E. 2015/02/26, http://ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/in-focus/the-filipino-gayspeak-filipino-gay-lingo/, access date N.S. 1143/07/07.

Establishing a Third Gender Category in Nepal: Process and Prognosis, Michael Bochenek and Kyle Knight, Emory International Law Review, Vol. 26, Issue 1, C.E. 2012.

Gay Language and Indonesia: Registering Belonging, Tom Boellstorff, C.E. 2004, Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, Vol. 14, Issue 2, pg. 248–268, American Anthropological Association, ISSN 1548-1395.

Gay Language in Cape Town: A study of Gayle – attitudes, history and usage, Kathryn Luyt, C.E. 2014, University of Cape Town.

In Focus: The Filipino Gayspeak (Filipino Gay Lingo), Reinerio A. Alba, C.E. 2015/02/26.

IsiNgqumo – Introducing a gay Black South African linguistic variety, Stephanie Rudwick and Mduduzi Ntuli, C.E. 2008, Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Vol. 26, No.4 ISSN: 1607-3614.

Language Choice and Sexual Identity in New Delhi, Kira Hall, C.E. 2001/02/09, Stanford University.

Lavender Linguistics, Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome and McBrewster John, C.E. 2010, VDM Publishing, ISBN 9786133788879.

Lavender Linguistics, Wichita State University.

Lavender Linguistics: An Introduction, The Center on Colfax.

Musicolinguistics: Deciphering the Nigerian Hip-Hop Music: Cryptolect, Yohanna Joseph Waliya, C.E. 2019, Language, Discourse & Society, Vol. 7, No. 1(13), Department of Modern Languages & Translation Studies, University of Calabar, Calabar-Nigeria.

National Census of Nepal 2011 C.E., Central Bureau of Statistics.

Nepali Aspecs, https://nepaliaspecs.com/.

Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/.

Oxford Reference, https://www.oxfordreference.com/.

Pajubá, the 'secret dialect' of Brazilian trans women, C.E. 2022/07/10, Pledge Times.

Polari - The Lost Language of Gay Men, Paul Baker, C.E. 2002, Routledge, ISBN 0-203-26183-6.

Queer Languages (that) matter: Navigating the role of Hijra Farsi in the gender and sexual identity formation of Khwaja Sara/Hijra's in contemporary Pakistan, Nadia Urooj And Alamgir Khan.

Queer Youth Group, https://queeryouthgroup.org.np/.

The reality of transgender rights in Nepal, Queer Youth Group and Queer Rights Collective, C.E. 2020/09/25, The Record.

The secret language of South Asia's transgender community, Zehra Rehman, C.E. 2016/04/15, The Quartz.

The secret language of Turkey's LGBT community, Dalia Mortada, C.E. 2015/01/14, The World.

We all have secrets, and languages are no exception: meet some of the world's 'cryptolects', Giulio Bajona.

Word Sense Dictionary, https://www.wordsense.eu/.

नेपाली व्याकरणमा प्रस्तावना, Mahananda Saptokta, साठी वर्षका भाषिक चर्चा, B.S. 2074, Nepal Academy, Pg. 35.

यौन अभिमुखिकरण, लैङ्गिक पहिचान तथा यौन विशेषता (यौभिकयौता) : आधारभूत अवधारणा, Queer Youth Group & Campaign for Change, N.S. 1141/04/17, ISBN: 978-9937-0-8469-7.